1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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834 She dances with downcast eyes in her adolescent rite; she sits apart
836 and does not talk with male visitors at home. A man seen prowling
[881] about the camp is shouted away. A girl who does not wish to be molested will go over to her mother to sleep. A father will whip a daughter who has clandestine visitors, and his son for misconduct. No obligations may be assumed for which no payment is made.

583 Despite the fact that elopements are frowned on, clandestine visits
[836] and elopements are frequent. The girl's parents may follow a runaway couple and force her to return with them. It is usual however for the families to accept the fact and make gifts in proper form.

583 The most lavish marriage display ever known was that of Lɛlo'ks' only
159 daughter, Go'solūlb. They were living at tàka'lmakeda during the fishing season when Ski'lūls of Yainax eloped with her. They fled riding double; the horse fell with them while fording the river, but they escaped to Yainax.
585 Soon after the girl returned alone. It took a month to get ready to conduct a proper marriage. Lɛlo'ks made the trip across the mountains to Jacksonville to get store goods. A great many people went with them to Yainax, the majority taking gifts of horses, blankets, clothing, or anything they had. One man with nothing better stripped himself of his only shirt. It must be remembered that such Plains shirts were then newly fashionable and hence valuable. They gave the horses they rode there, hoping for reciprocal gifts on which to return. Horses to a total of ten were given the groom's people. They gave horses and other gifts in return. Payment having been made the affair was considered as honorably ended, and as though the groom had sent an emissary in proper order.

583 Marriage without payment brings a slur on the children to be cast
554 in the teeth by quarreling women. "Your children are worth nothing; you were not bought." Children taunt each other in the same way. They are respected in proportion to the amount changing hands at their parents' marriage, but this does not mean that a man's life is assessed at this sum. Nor is there any suggestion here that husband and wife are financially accountable to each other for injuries to their children. Marriage payment is prescribed not alone because it fixes social status in a general way but because, as one informant phrased it, it is decidedly unlucky not to make payment. So it is, for the couple have made an unsuccessful start of their social career.

The amount is not prescribed but varies with the wealth of the individuals. A chief gives a slave and more; a poor man buys with food. A chief will not give his daughter for nothing; the groom must
583 continue to bring gifts even after marriage. The valuables customarily exchanged are slaves, horses, blankets, beads, food (pond-lily seed and roots), elk and other hides, and strings of beads. Pat Kane's father gave five fathoms of glass trade beads. It is important to

I: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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601 I have few data on kinship usages. A child's spouse is treated like an own child and freely called son or daughter. Reciprocally, parents-in-law are often addressed by parent terms. The spouses of grandchildren and of nephews and nieces are not related, nor are step-brothers and sisters. There is no joking relation.

593 The close bond between siblings and their families is attested by the opening of a tale:

[539] Wiwi'aak had five fathers, who were the five sons of Wlo'akak. That is, one was his father, but the others were fathers because they were father's brothers. . . . .

PUBERTY AND MENSTRUAL CUSTOMS

• 881 [554] The puberty dance is held only for the daughters of chiefs and others of wealth. For a poor man's daughter the rites are curtailed to the most necessary observances. The celebration serves as an announcement of nubility: girls marry within a year or so of their dance.

881 535 The dance (yo'k'ela) occupies five nights at the first menstruation and is repeated at the four subsequent periods. It seems doubtful that any but the socially pretentious carry out full five celebrations. During the day the girl goes alone to sleep in the brush at some distance, returning for the dance just before sundown. I am not certain that she then seeks supernatural power. At least the girl does not run about piling up rocks in lonely places as boys do.

The dancing may take place in the lodge or outside, perhaps according to the season. It is simple enough; the girl trots forward and backward in the same course facing the east all the while. She is supported on each side by a man or woman whose arms are linked in hers. As they tire others take their places but the girl must keep on throughout the night. These others are young or old, relatives or otherwise, as convenience dictates.

881 533 The singing is provided by a group of men and women who alone know the appropriate songs. These singers are in demand for every dance. They are paid by the girl's relatives, a horse apiece, a blanket for each man, a half-fathom of beads for the women, or an equivalent. Some are provided with rattles, poles to the upper ends of which bunches of dew claws are fastened, the butts of which they pound on the ground. At least the song leader has one; other informants spoke of two or three, of five men and five women, or of rattles for all.

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Everyone is quiet during the singing, else the girl will die. My informant could not say what would be done to the one who broke this rule. The singers are fed at midnight. 881 • 533

The choristers sing about one another, men about women, women about men.[95] The opening song is always:

> iwŭne' sken djĭdja'lwis djaiye'djai'wa
> toward sundown bachelors making a noise (?)
> The young men are having a jollification in the west.

[539]

Toward daylight they sing:

> pe'ĕt ĕeskă'ni dji'ḳ!a ho'llidoṇga
> Toward the dawn place a tiny brown bird came to meet us.

The girl herself is expected to dance with downcast eyes, although there is no express prohibition against looking at the sky as among the Shasta. Common girls, however, will laugh and look around as they dance. There is no suggestion that the girl's glance is malignant. 881 535 576 [171] *

She observes three precautions during these five days, as she will at subsequent menstruations and during mourning. She must abstain from meat and fish, eating only lily seed or roots. She may, however, eat when she pleases and with the others. Should she eat the forbidden flesh, she will get "consumption" and die.[96] She must not touch her hands to her face or head, using instead a scratcher (sadŏ'ktcuts). This scratching stick or bone is tucked under the left wristband or hung about the neck. Every morning she runs toward the dawn. 881 784 [302]

In the Field Museum collections are several bone scratchers used during the girl's rites (nos. 61633, 61692, 63632). These are of two types; lozenge-shaped and oval. They are decorated with incised lines, set close together and filled with black pigment. Each is provided with a thong (fig. 6). [531]

During the day the girl retires to sleep in the bushes or in a dome-shaped mat-lodge a few hundred yards distant. 881

She wears an old, dirty, fringed skirt, a blanket of skin (coyote, wolf, raccoon, or deer), and buckskin moccasins. The long buckskin dress commonly worn at dances may be used, although one informant stated otherwise. She does not wash nor comb her hair during this period. Her face is blackened with pitch and charcoal, but none is put on her hair as it would be in mourning. Instead the hair, hanging as usual in two braids in front of the shoulders, is doubled on itself to form two clubs, which are bound with braided cords of buck-brush [343] [291] [302]

[95] Some of these songs are given by Gatschet, 1:182, 189.

[96] A bone drinking tube is not used.

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881
[302]
[301]
or red sage-brush bark. Buck-brush bands are worn around the head, neck, wrists, ankles, below each knee, and wound perhaps twice around the waist. This waist band may be a woven belt (k'ai'lis) of sage-brush.

[291]
At the close of the ceremony the girl purifies herself by swimming; she does not use a sweat-bath. Other participants need no purification. Her clothing and bark bands are burned. Sometimes the circlets are wrapped around the branches of trees near the sweat-lodge where they are left to rot unless they are earlier gathered by someone who wishes to use them for a cautery.

[783]

[302]
[531]

Fig. 6. Head scratchers, used by girls in puberty rites.

A girl for whom no dance is held stays within her home, dressed in this fashion and observing the taboos for the requisite period.

841
[756]
Menstruant women stay at home during their illness (ata sto'pwi) unless they are members of a shaman's household. Shamans must avoid them; seemingly other men are indifferent. Women of a shaman's household occupy a little dome-shaped lodge near-by for five days. Menstruants eat only lily seed, camas, etc.; they permit themselves dried fish, but meat and fresh fish are taboo. Older women do not use the scratcher, nor wear the bands, nor burn their clothing.[97] So much from my feminine friend, but a male informant had it that all women make use of a menstrual lodge, wear dirty clothing, neither wash nor care for the hair, and use the scratcher. However, women

[97] Nor do they keep knotted string records of these events as on Puget sound.

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841

do keep up their ordinary occupation in part during this time. They dig roots for instance, but others must care for the products further, else the women will never find any more.

881 •

There is no comparable rite for boys at puberty. Nevertheless the time when a boy's voice deepens is recognized as propitious for seeking power. He is sent into the mountains for perhaps five days, to wander at night, running continually, piling up rocks, swimming in the mountain pools and eddies of the rivers, fasting the while until a song comes to him in a dream. He must use a head-scratcher. Preadolescent boys are tossed into the river or whipped while they sleep. If the boy whimpers he will be a weakling; he is expected to jump up and shout. I have cited above the case of Lzle'ks who was so treated at puberty, it seems, and thus lost his transvestite habits.

[787]

[866]

866
159

When I [Pat Kane] was a little boy of seven or ten, my father sometimes threw me into the river while I slept. I did not ask why. Finally he told me, "I do not want to kill you. I do it so that when you are grown you will not easily get sick, so that if you are shot you will recover quickly." I always bathed in the river as a boy and you see that I have never even had rheumatism until recently.

DEATH AND MOURNING

764

Klamath funereal observances are personal, non-ceremonial, and somewhat unique in that they provide occasions for the seeking of power. There are no mourning anniversaries.

[765]

Cremation is the universal practice, even for suicides, the newborn, and the stillborn. Only the bodies of secretly aborted infants are buried in the bush. The body of a man killed in war is brought home for cremation.[99]

[727]

Some Klamath men were trapping in the mountains west of Crater lake about eighty years ago when they were met by some Upland Takelma who killed four or five. One boy alone escaped and made his way back to Klamath marsh at night. The Takelma took scalps, hands, and feet of the dead, and held a dance. Many Klamath went to fetch the bodies, which they brought to Klamath marsh for incineration.

Near each group of settlements is a spot where all cremations take place. It is somewhat apart from the settlements but not isolated.

Three of these serve the Klamath marsh people; on the eastern side of the marsh near the towns k'ltaiwas (2, see maps, figs. 1–3), gûpgûa'ksi (3), and t'wal (4). For others of this division of the tribe, there is one on Sprague

[99] Cremation was given up forty or more years ago ("in about 1868," Gatschet, 1:86). The first burial was that of a Molala man, married to a Klamath woman, who was killed by a Klamath.

[177]
[178]

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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This is the open flute, lacking tongue or reed, and played by blowing across the open end while it is held vertically or horizontally. So I was told, but it is more probable that the vertical is the only position used. These are manufactured from branches of the ḳoḳo'dŏm bush or the elder (slo'lŭaxm), from which the pith is easily removed, or from the long legs of cranes. The wooden flutes are three-quarters of an inch in diameter, one to two feet long, with three holes (or four or five ?) for finger stops burned at odd intervals. 534

The deer-hoof rattle (sŏ'ḳtaŏḳs) is probably the only one of the three Klamath rattles that is of any antiquity among them. It is used exclusively in the girl's adolescence rites. The Klamath form is a slender pole four to seven feet long with a cord along the upper third to which bunches of deer dew claws (ḳ'o'djiḷḳs) are tied at intervals. The butt is pounded on the ground to jar the hooflets. [881]

Of the other two types, the clap rattle is the familiar cleft stick, the split end of which is struck against the palm. This was used in the Ghost dance of 1870 and in no other connection. It was derived from the Pit river peoples. The notched rattle (ulo'ks) is known to have been played by one man who learned it from the Upland Takelma. It may have been used in the war and scalp dances. This is the familiar notched stick set on the ground and rasped with another stick; no resonator is used.[142] [786] [177]

The hand drum has no great antiquity among the Klamath but was in use before the coming of the whites. It was derived from some northern tribe, probably those of Warm Springs. Its very name, bŏ'mbŏm, is the common word in eastern Oregon and Washington. It is used only in the social dances, which are themselves of no great consequence. The drum is the familiar shallow tambourine affair, with only one head. Thongs crossed on the open face furnish a hand grip. Drums are constructed of a flattened juniper bough bent into a ring of one to two feet in diameter. Heads of badger and antelope hide are best; they yield the loudest sound. The drum was not decorated until lately, when stars were painted on the head. This is said to have been learned of the whites, but is more likely derived from the modern version of the Smohallah cult, the so-called Pompom religion of eastern Washington and Oregon. The drum stick (wo'tanotc) is a stick wrapped with mink hide to form a knob. [177] [531] [177]

[142] There is no association of the sound with the voice of the frog nor with the rain, nor is it used in social dances, as in the Great Basin area. [533] [171]

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II. KLAMATH SHAMANISM

INTRODUCTION

Klamath religion centers so largely in shamanism that it may be permissible to describe the whole in terms of shamanistic practices, the spirits with which they are concerned, and the acquisition of supernatural powers. There is little ceremonialism apart from the shamans' performances. There is a rite for girls at puberty, a dance in preparation for war and another in celebration of captured scalps, some formal feasting at marriage, and of recent date the Ghost dance of 1870.

The religion is only weakly developed. Power is sought from a host of spirits whose characteristics are not sharply defined. These are predominantly birds and animals, winds, lightning and the like, and a handful of anthropomorphic beings. They are however definitely localized in many instances and partly identified with the figures of mythology. But there has been no attempt to marshal the spirits into an ordered pantheon. Relations to the spirits have no ethical implication. The belief in a land of the dead, too, stands apart from the spirits and their functions. It has solely a folkloristic existence, for it little concerns the actions of the living.

Power is deliberately sought by almost every Klamath. There are times that are especially propitious; at puberty, in distress, or on the loss of a wife, a husband, or a child. The mode of seeking and the revelation are stereotyped: one fasts at night on mountain tops, running about, piling up rocks, or diving beneath lonely pools. Mourners at least must first purify themselves in the sweat-lodge. The looked-for response is unconsciousness, a profuse hemorrhage at nose and mouth, and a spirit's song revealed in a dream. The spirit is not the seeker's guardian and exacts of him no special conduct, no offerings, no venerations. There is only one obligation; he must accept the blessing and use his power once the spirit makes itself known. The power is motivated by the song; the song and the spirit are one and inseparable. There is little specialization of spirits and their powers: curing, gambling, hunting, love-making, and shamanistic trickery are fields in which any spirit may operate.

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The shaman himself is, or was, the outstanding figure of Klamath society. He had no rival in the chiefs, the rich man, until the coming of the whites brought a redistribution of emphasis in Klamath life. Chiefs had previously been persons of little influence.

All this is familiar enough among Indians; the Klamath differ only in particulars. In its several aspects, their religion, as well as its practice, is one with that of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Mackenzie tribes.

THE POWER QUEST

The quest for supernatural aid is open to everyone, men and women, boys and girls. It is a constantly recurring feature of their lives. Everyone, perhaps without exception, seeks the powers at least once during his lifetime and further experiences seem to be repeatedly sought.

The first occasion is always puberty. I doubt that boys and girls are expected to be uniformly successful in securing aid at this time, because, it was said, at shamanistic performances those who had power might sing their songs. This may imply that the others either never acquired power or had lost it. My informants' frequent emphasis on the period of mourning for a husband, wife, or child marks this, too, as a peculiarly pregnant period when power may be successfully sought. At least at such a time a man loses his power and must seek again if he wishes to regain it. A man also seeks power at the birth of a first child. But it is not only the crises of life that provide occasion; the quest may be undertaken at any time, and it is the practice of such as gamblers and shamans to renew and enhance their powers by frequent attempts. The quest is called spü'tu.

The experience does not ordinarily include a vision, but is made manifest in a song heard in a dream. In some instances where a vision is had, a dream song follows, but it is clear that the latter is the essential experience. In the following case a man and a woman had identical visions but to the man alone fell the experience leading to power.

The grandfather of a Klamath Falls shaman went to stö'kmöte, the point of Eagle Ridge, in the evening. There is a spot in the lake where bubbles rise. Horses lived in this long ago (1). When this man reached the headland he saw two pinto horses, with long manes, rearing against each other from the water. He was not frightened but took off his clothes and plunged into the water in order to secure power. When he recovered consciousness he found himself again on land. From that time he was lucky; he began to get many pintos, large horses. Because of this experience his grandson, the shaman, also acquired, in his turn, spirit songs of all kinds.

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787 [159]

An old woman, gathering wood at this place, also saw two horses in the water. Turning to her husband she said, "There are horses standing over there," but when they looked again, the horses had disappeared. Such a disappearance (tsko'tka) is a sign that a relative will die; one of her relatives died after this.

Visions evidently follow one of two formulae. Either, as above, the spirit appears standing in the water and then disappears, or it drags the swimmer below the water for the purpose of devouring him, as instanced below.

787 776 533

One word swi'ls means song and spirit being. A certain dualism is involved here. Spirits are definite beings that dwell in the mountains and in the water. On the other hand all songs are called swi'ls, including those for amusement and non-shamanistic dancing, which bear no reference to spirits. That is, spirits and songs are certainly recognized as separate entities. Nevertheless, when it is said that a man has a Coyote swi'ls, for example, it means that he has the appropriate song or songs and that this animal is his supernatural helper. The spirit never manifests itself but in the song; the singer is the vehicle, the voice of the spirit. Song and spirit are one and the same thing.

787 881

Power is sought in lonely spots on the mountains, in mountain pools, in eddies in the rivers, in all places where spirits are known to dwell. A boy is sent into the mountains on a vigil of several days, perhaps five, at puberty, that is, when his voice changes. He seeks power that he may acquire property, be a good hunter, become rich, a chief, and be able to do all the things that are difficult. (One does not need power to be a fisherman, for instance.) He must fast and must not touch his hands to his face, but must use a scratcher instead. He must sleep without covering and warm himself only occasionally by a little fire. He runs about constantly throughout the night, piling rocks into high piles[147] (called sewa'l) and swimming in the mountain pools. He prays, calling loudly to the spirits, and finally gets an answer. At night he may see a spirit with blood flowing from his mouth; then he faints and when he wakes he too will have a hemorrhage (djäkglëkgë'ka). He "nearly dies" before he secures the song.

[562]

It is possible that girls also seek power at puberty. Their dance at this time takes place at night; during the day they sleep in the brush or on the near-by hills. Then a song may be dreamed. One informant had it that they spend the night piling rocks like boys, returning at daylight, but I consider it very unlikely that a girl

[147] Clarke, Rock Piles, 40, refers to the many piles of four or five boulders placed on one another which occur in this country.

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787 would be allowed to go unattended. Women well along in years, how-
881 ever, follow the regular practice, at least as to bathing in the spirit
562 places.

787 The same method is pursued by the mourner, gambler, or shaman
756 who seeks power, but swimming in the deep river eddies was more
525 frequently mentioned in this connection. These seekers are almost always men, but older strong-willed women will attempt it. Power may be sought at any time during the year, but they do not dive for it until the first willow buds appear (in the seventh month, March or April). I presume that deep snows and ice in the mountains preclude earlier attempts.

787 During the day the seeker sweats and fasts, waiting in the brush until nightfall. He then goes to the river and dives to the bottom in search of the spirit. He must not be frightened even if he sees some-
[756] thing moving under the water. He prays before diving, "I want to be a shaman. Give me power. Catch me. I need the power." Sometimes he comes up unconscious, blood streaming from his mouth and nose. He must wait until the flow stops before going home.[168] This night he hears nothing because he has been frightened by the spirit, nor will he eat the following day for fear of falling ill. On the following night or soon after, he hears the song of the spirit as it sings beneath the water. He may dream of hunting deer, acquiring horses, of success in gambling or with women, and of marriage. One informant dreamed of being in an earth-lodge. When he wakes the
[539] seeker sings about the subject of his dream. One song dreamed by an old woman is

e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha e'ha
(repeated four times)
noai'meso spu'ɣgŏtgŏple' spŭ'ɣgŏtgŏple'
I am the one pursuing you.

It seems that, like a boy at puberty, this seeker, after swimming, may go to the mountains to fast and pile rocks. He may remain there for some time, but one exceptionally rapid quest was cited. Nancy's father having lost a child, he went swimming in Crater lake; before evening he had become a shaman.

787 A power quest under unusual circumstances is that of Lgle'ks.
159 This man, the most prominent and successful chief of the last century, was a berdache in his youth. His people wanted him to give up woman's garb. One day when he lay asleep they placed a woman's

[168] Gatschet also describes this (*op. cit.*, 1:83–84).

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789 one part of Klamath territory, on the eastern shore of Klamath lake and southward. A bracelet made of the shed skin of a water snake (wĭ'slı̨k) will make a little child swim well. Girl's hair is singed so that it will grow long.

881 Menstrual regulations prescribe that at first menstruation girls may not eat meat or fish else they will get sick. They must use a head-scratcher and run toward the dawn. Their clothing and bands must be burned. Older menstruants are permitted dried fish and
841 may do without the scratcher. Women must not care for the roots they gather while in this condition, else they will fail to find them in
[756] the future. Shamans must avoid menstruants else they lose their power.

765 The same food restrictions are imposed on mourners, who also use the head-scratcher. If they touch hands to face it will wrinkle, to hair it will turn gray. They must spit into a hole. Mourners must use special sweat-lodges. A woman's bands are hung on the trees near-by. Men wear bark belts so that their backs will not grow stooped. The house in which a death takes place must be burned with its contents. Mourners must abandon their first kill or harvest, or their gains at gambling, and give the second away. Similarly novice hunters and root-gatherers give away their first fruits, a gambler his first gains after acquiring power. Mourners must not fish nor cross a river else the fish will disappear. These mourners' observances have largely a purificatory intent.

821 A storm rages when a shaman dies, when he is cremated, and again when his lodge is burned.

823 Klamath marsh, which is now almost wholly dry, is known to have been in that condition on earlier occasions, for instance, about 1840 and again about 1860. On the former occasion it was so dry that its southern arm could be crossed on horseback between the settlements Du"ilkŭt and I'wal. They did not know what caused it. As a remedy a man would be dispatched to one of the spirit pools in the Cascade mountains (as Crater and Diamond lakes) to bring back water in a squirrel or chipmunk skin to pour into the marsh.

226 The first fish rite of these people is held at one place alone, Komă'-ĕksi on Sprague river. Why at this point, is anything but obvious. The first sucker caught is burned to ashes, others must be roasted on the spot, otherwise no more will follow. The gall of fish caught with difficulty, as when speared through the ice, must be thrown back into the water else the fish will avoid the fisher.

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on the other, were entirely absent among the Klamath. Nevertheless the mechanism of the Northwest Coast for the exchange of presents, the potlatch, does appear here in the form of prescribed reciprocal visits between the families of bride and groom. It has not been clearly recognized that these features of Northwest Coast social life have spread even farther from that focus into the northern Plains and to north central California.

Of the slender stock of Klamath ceremonials, the scalp dance is widely known, the war or incitement dance is common to northwestern California and perhaps all of Oregon. Kroeber has pointed out that so far as California is concerned scalp and war dances are mutually exclusive in their distributions.[418] But the Klamath, like all others of eastern Oregon, carry out both dances. The girls' adolescence rite of the Klamath is one with those of western Oregon and northern California. This is a local phrasing of similar rites known from Alaska to the Southwest, but lacking east of the Sierra-Cascades. Specific details of the Klamath affair are closer to northern Californian forms than to those of Oregon. The Ghost dance of 1870 was evanescent among them. Its first form was that characteristic of the original dance of Nevada; later it was overlaid by features characteristic of central California.[419]

Some historical relief emerges in this survey. It is definitely traceable in some details and can be established inferentially for more basic elements. The most recent stratum of adopted traits is post-reservation, i.e., later than 1865. This includes two types of basketry derived from the Northern Paiute settled on the reservation, a sifting basket and a coiled water bucket, and the Ghost dance. The earlier form of the Ghost dance was instituted by the same group of Paiute in 1870 or '71. This was the familiar circle of dancers, whose leaders dreamed new regulations; its ideology the return of the dead. In 1873 a Pit River introduced central Californian elements; a dance lodge, probably the clap-stick rattle, new songs, etc. To the same stratum belongs the imitation of the Warm Springs-Yakima one-piece moccasin.

Other elements are recognized as pertaining to pre-reservation days, but probably not earlier than the middle of the last century: the hand drum derived from the north, and perhaps the social dances in which it is used; the hand game brought by a Spokane (?) man.

[418] Kroeber, Handbook, 144, 844.
[419] Spier, Ghost Dance.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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THE SHAMANISTIC COMPLEX

However simple and consistent a picture the religious practices of the Klamath may appear, there can be no doubt that they represent an amalgam of historically diverse elements. It is not necessary to indicate the exact sequence in which they were accreted in order to prove this. We can show that these elements have different distributions among neighboring tribes and that they enter into combinations different from that of the Klamath. The Klamath complex is best interpreted as a function of their geographic position, without ignoring the fact that the peculiar form in which the Klamath have these ideas is duplicated nowhere else.

The characteristics of Klamath religious practices and beliefs may be briefly recapitulated. There are a host of weakly defined but sharply localized spirits from whom power is sought. These are chiefly birds and animals, some natural phenomena, and a few anthropomorphic supernaturals. The powers they bestow give success in all things difficult. Power is deliberately sought, it rarely comes involuntarily, and always according to a rigid formula. It is sought by almost every Klamath, perhaps by all, and the majority seem successful in their quest. Shamans are then set off from the laity only in the possession of a greater number of powers. It is better to make the distinction by their acts: those who cure or practice weather control or clairvoyance, no matter how few their powers or the nature of their familiar spirits, are shamans. The quest is undertaken at any time of life, although usually at puberty. The most propitious times in later life are at periods of stress, as in distress or on the death of an immediate relative. The formula prescribes fasting for a number of nights on the mountains, continually running about and piling up rocks, combined with diving into lonely pools, or following the latter plan alone by diving beneath whirlpools in the river or lakes which spirits are known to haunt. The suppliant loses consciousness and wakes to find himself on the shore bleeding profusely from the mouth and nose. He does not ordinarily have a vision, but success is manifested in a song heard in a dream on a night soon following. The dream experience is essential. So closely is the spirit identified with the song, that but a single word indicates both. The song is the embodiment of the spirit, which hardly exists apart from it. The spirit is not the suppliant's guardian and later quests are not necessarily for renewed

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From this perspective the Klamath complex takes its place with the relatively simple shamanism of the northwestern interior and the Basin, overlaid with elements shared by tribes of the northwestern coast and those of northern, or better, northwestern California.

Shamanism bulks large in the social scheme of the Klamath as it does in the interior Plateau and the Basin, for the reason that competing rituals are lacking. Beyond the girls' rite, the war and scalp dances, and for a brief time the Ghost dance, the Klamath have nothing but shamans' performances. The winter ritual of the Northwest Coast extends only to central coastal Washington, the potlatch only to the Columbia river. The wealth display dances of northwestern California do not penetrate even to the Shasta; those of the central Californian Kuksu cult not beyond the head of the Sacramento. Elements of these ritual systems do indeed appear among the Klamath, but the dances as such are absent.

The Klamath hold the acquisition of supernatural power within the reach of anyone. In this they accord with the generality of North Americans and differ emphatically from the Californians for whom power descends only on the few. The Klamath form of quest followed by a dream in which power comes links the common quest of America with the dream experience of California. The Northwest Coast, its interior, and the Basin are a unit with the Klamath in that the quest is for power of a general sort, not for visions yielding specific sanctions as in the Plains. The spirits whose benevolence is sought are birds and animals as in the interior, the Plains and eastward, not the mystic supernaturals of the Northwest Coast. The source of power and disease among the northwest Californians, the "pain" objects, do not appear among them in any form. The Klamath concept of disease is the very general North American one of intrusion; the soul-loss concept of the Northwest Coast and tribes to the Columbia is unknown here.

The Klamath novitiate dance for shamans is shared by groups from the Sacramento to the Columbia. It is the northern demonstration of ability rather than the initiation and mastery of power of the northern Californians. The repeated dance of the Yurok prevails through Shasta and Modoc, but the single Klamath dance is of the interior type.

The Northwest Coast winter ritual makes its appearance here only in its general aspects. Klamath shamanistic seances are held only in midwinter and this is also the time for repossession by spirits among

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*171 567 southward of the Klamath there was no slavery; this is certain for Northern and Southern Maidu,[881] and very probably Achomawi, Atsugewi, and Northern Paiute. This seems generally true of California with the exception of the northwest (Yurok and probably their neighbors), where there was debt slavery, but where slaves were not measurable articles of wealth.

Summary

101 105 174 The general position of the Klamath in relation to surrounding tribes was in earlier days the simple social structure of the Basin peoples. Since the opening of the last century they have borrowed from the Columbia tribes some sense of social stratification based on wealth, slave-holding, and trading, enhanced importance for their chiefs coincident with a change in the basis of selection from war to wealth, and quite recently judicial functions for the chiefs. There was thus a shift in social dominance from shaman to chief.

GIRLS' PUBERTY RITES AND WOMEN'S OBSERVANCES

*171 562 881 787 It is characteristic of western America that adolescence ceremonies were held for girls rather than boys. This is not to ignore the wide extension of the guardian spirit quest, more regularly performed by boys than girls, nor the boys' initiation ceremonies of southern California and the Southwest, but the boys' activities were less commonly ritualized save in the southwestern sector. The boys' quest among the Klamath has been discussed in connection with shamanism.

*171 841 The girls' rites in the west can best be understood with reference to a background of women's observances throughout the continent. Certain features of women's behavior had a well-nigh universal distribution. The general conception was that woman during her periodical illnesses was a source of contamination to others or a peril to herself. A series of restrictions ensued; she was secluded or her movements restricted during the period. For her own well-being she must fast or at least refrain from fresh meat or fish, but the latter proscription was also rationalized as avoiding damage to the food supply, especially fishing. She must not touch hands to face or hair, using instead a scratching stick, must not wash nor arrange her hair, and must dispose of her garments before resuming her normal life.

[880] Teit, The Middle Columbia Salish, esp. 122.

[881] Dixon, Northern Maidu, 306; Faye, Notes on the Southern Maidu, 44.

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It will be observed that the Klamath conformed to the general usage in that meat and fresh fish were avoided and the scratcher used, but a woman need not leave her home unless she was a member of a shaman's household. [171* 841 [756]

There are certain other taboos which were by no means universal but occurred over considerable areas in the same form. For example, salt was taboo to menstruants in southern and central California (Mohave, Diegueño, Luiseño, and much to the north, Pomo and Yuki).

It was in the nature of the case that those regulatory prescriptions that surround women throughout their lives held with equal force at the first period. It was not inevitable however that the conduct of the girl at her first period should be further regimented, or that restrictions be applied to the first period and none other (as among the Wishram). As I noted at the outset of this discussion, ritualization of the first period was characteristic of the extreme west alone. [171* 881

The rites had everywhere a composite character as far as purpose went, although it was very much the same throughout their whole range, but differently weighted in the north and south. I think we can safely state that the general purposes of the rites were to announce the nubility of the girl and thus qualify her as a candidate for marriage, and to serve her well-being at this physiological crisis. In the north the inevitable wealth display served as well to fix her social status. In the central section the industry and modesty she was forced to display were intended to fix her habits for life. While this looks much like a magical procedure, it may well have been a more direct way of achieving that end. It is indeed probable that the acts of this period of emotional stress should retain a high degree of consciousness throughout her life or at least until her habits were stabilized. In the south her physiological well-being was accentuated to the extent that other ritualistic possibilities, such as dancing, were dwarfed.

Apart from those features described above that have a general distribution there were rites of a specific character which fall into a number of distinct geographic types:

1. In the Northwest the adolescent girl was secluded in a closed-off section of her home, squatting in a constrained position, her head covered by a hat or mat. At the expiration of this period of seclusion a potlatch, a feast with distribution of property, was given in her honor by her parents. A series of songs were sung, hereditary

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in her family and satirical in nature or relating to love affairs. The personal restrictions continued for a period upward to a year.

Observances of this type have been noted from Alaska to the strait of Juan de Fuca: Malemut and Unalit Eskimo, Ten'a, Tahltan, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nootka, Klallam, Snohomish, Nisqually, and Quinault. Variations will be discussed later.[566]

2. In Oregon and northern California there was a dance in which the girl participated each night of her period of seclusion. During the day she lay quietly at home or in a hut, alternating this with periods of strenuous activity, gathering firewood or uselessly piling logs. At dawn she ran toward the east. She wore a feather visor or her head was covered to hold her gaze averted whenever she emerged. Two dance forms occurred together; a circling ring and a line abreast trotting to and fro. Their accompaniment was a deer-hoof rattle; the songs related to men and women or to food products. The duration of the rite was quite consistently five or ten days. In Oregon at least this was the occasion for a vision quest. Throughout the region the performance was repeated at one or more subsequent illnesses.

The Klamath observances belong here.

Wishram, Tillamook, Coos, Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Northern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, Tolowa (?), Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Yuki, Huchnom.[567]

3. In central and southern California and in adjacent Arizona the rite was simple: the girl was placed on a heated bed, sometimes danced over or sung to. The period was somewhat variable but most commonly four days. Again her eyes were covered or averted. Added to her personal restrictions was the proscription of salt. These restrictions continued in force as in the north, but not for so long, a month or more.

Pomo, Miwok, Tübatulabal, Juaneño, Luiseño, Northern Diegueño, Cahuilla, Mohave, Havasupai.[568]

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[566] Nelson, Eskimo about Bering Strait, 291; Emmons, Tahltan, 104; Krause, Die Tlinkit-Indianer, 217; Boas, Tsimshian Mythology, 430, 531, Third Report, 12; Ethnology of Kwakiutl, 699 f.; Sapir, Girl's Puberty Ceremony; Gunther, Klallam Ethnography, 239; Hasberlin-Gunther, Ethnographische Notizen, 46; Olson, Quinault field notes, 1926.

[567] Spier and Sapir, Wishram Ethnography; Boas, Notes on Tillamook, 6; St. Clair and Frachtenberg, Traditions of the Coos, 26; Sapir, Notes on Takelma, 273; Dixon, Notes on Achomawi and Atsugewi, 216; Dixon, Northern Maidu, 232 f.; Kroeber, Handbook, 106, 119, 127, 146, 195, 205, 209; Goddard, Life and Culture of Hupa, 53.

[568] Loeb, Pomo Folkways, 271 f.; Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 453, 609, 641, 673, 707, 716, 748; Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, 335.

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4. Some of the non-Pueblo Southwestern tribes had a dance at this time, occupying four nights. "The essential features of this ceremony are numerous songs and prayers uttered by the priest hired for the occasion, dancing by the girl or girls for whom it is held, a foot race by the girl, and the painting of the girl and of the spectators, who expect good fortune as a result."[880]

White Mountain Apache, Navaho, Jicarilla, and perhaps Pima should be included here.[880]

In contrast to this definite ceremonializing of the first crisis in western America, all of the groups east of the Rockies and those in the Great Basin were one in ignoring this opportunity for ritualization. They confined themselves to prescribing only such restrictions as applied to women throughout their span of life. Some indeed lacked restrictions of any sort. At this writing I have access only to a scattering of accounts but they may be taken as random and representative.

In the Great Basin these included Paviotso (Northern Paiute), Shivwits, Northern and Southern Ute, and northward the Kutenai; in the Plains, Plains Cree, Assiniboin, Dakota, Cheyenne; in the Eastern Woodlands area, Winnebago, Menomini, Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, Kickapoo, Northern Saulteaux; in the Southeast, Chickasaw.[881] I have pointed out above that there are areas where restrictions to women in their periods were absent or almost nil; the Northern Plains, Arctic, and Pueblos. There were there no first rites, of course.

In pointing out these four types of ceremony it is not implied that there was no difference among the tribes holding to any one of them. It will be sufficient for my present purpose, the analysis of Klamath customs, to discuss the variations of the second type.

Wherever information is available it appears that the dance was held each night of the girl's seclusion. The exception is the Wishram, whose dance followed that period. In this the Wishram conform to the habit of the Northwest Coast tribes.

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[880] Goddard, Indians of the Southwest, 173.

[880] Goddard, White Mountain Apache Myths, 183; Goddard, in American Indian Life, 147 f.; Reichard, Navajo, 135-9; Goddard, Jicarilla Apache Texts, 366; Russell, Pima Indians, 182; Parsons, Notes on the Pima, 464.

[881] Lowie, Shoshonean Ethnography, 278 f.; Chamberlain, 186; Skinner, Plains Cree, 69; Lowie, Assiniboine, 79; Radin, Winnebago Tribe, 186; Skinner, Menomini Social Life, 82; Eastern Cree and Northern Saulteaux, 153; Speck, Chickasaw Ethnology, 87.

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The place of seclusion shows an interesting cleavage between coastal and interior tribes. The former confined the girl to her home (Tillamook†, Coos†, Yurok, Hupa, Wiyot); the latter to a hut (Wishram, Shasta, Sacramento Valley and Northeastern Maidu). The exceptional case here is the Northern Maidu of the foothills who used the dwelling. The Klamath, Achomawi, and Atsugewi conformed to the interior practice of excluding the girl from her home, sending her into the brush, and at least the Klamath specified that a hut was erected for her if shelter was needed. It will be observed that the seclusion within the home in coastal Oregon and northwestern California looks like an extension of Northwest Coast practice.

The duration of the period was quite uniformly five days or its multiple ten (five days: Takelma, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Foothill Maidu, Sacramento Valley Maidu [5 days or a week]; ten days: Coos, Shasta, Karok, Yurok, Hupa). The Wishram seclusion was five days, followed by a five-day dance period. The Wiyot period is stated as five or ten days. Here again an antithesis is suggested between interior and coast, but with the line drawn further inland.

The fixing of the number of days at five or ten seems to me clearly an application of the pattern number five common to this area. This view is emphasized by the fact that elsewhere the number was different, most commonly four days. On the Northwest Coast, e.g., the number was quite variable, most commonly four days, and those cases there where a five-day period was prescribed lay toward the southern end of the area (Chinook, most commonly five days; possibly Nisqually, where the duration was of the same order, five to nine days, Quinault, ten days). This was true again in more southerly California and the Southwest where the number was most commonly four, with the Eastern Pomo in the north holding to five. Finally we note that in the Basin the period was five days for Paviotso, ten for Northern Ute. Kroeber was puzzled by the scarcity of the number four in the girls' ceremonies within the boundaries of the present California.[222] The majority of his cases were from northern California. But the situation is at once clear if we extend comparisons beyond its borders; five (and ten) was common to Oregon, northern California, and the northern Basin, four to the remainder of California (with certain exceptions in the south) and the Southwest.

This is what it should be when we consider the distribution of pattern numbers in the west. Five was the pattern number of the

[222] Handbook, 863.

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southern Northwest Coast, Oregon, California as far south as the Sinkyone (and perhaps the Costanoan), and the Basin. The number was variable in central and southern California, as Kroeber has pointed out, but was as regularly four on the Colorado river as in the Southwest.[668] The curious feature is that five as the pattern number did not regularly make its appearance in the adolescence rites; it is seemingly missing from them on the northern margin of its distribution and again in the southern Basin. What we have to recognize is that the pattern number does not operate automatically at every possible opportunity; further, that there may be an appreciable lag before a specified number of days, things, etc., is made to conform to the standard number. Thus the Ghost dance of 1890 derived by the Walapai from the Southern Paiute, whose pattern number was five, appeared among them as a five-day ceremony although their pattern was four.

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Characteristic of this local area was some device to hold the adolescent girl's gaze averted when she left her seclusion. It was a visor of blue-jay feathers among the Takelma, Shasta, and Karok, an eye-shade of skin among the Northern Pomo. Elsewhere her head must be covered in some fashion; it was so prescribed by Hupa, Wiyot, Sinkyone, Coast Central Pomo, Tübatulabal. The visor appeals to me as the local analogue of the large hat or mat prescribed by Northwest Coast tribes: Tena, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola, Kwakiutl, Nisqually, and Tillamook. The Nootka and Achomawi-Atsugewi headbands may also be analogues. In some instances the girl's head must be covered with a basket even as she rests: Takelma, Shasta, Yuki, Luiseño. This is, to be sure, only a specific form based on a more widespread view that the adolescent's glance was malignant and must be cast down. This notion prevailed as far south as the Colorado river (Yurok, Eastern Pomo, and Mohave in addition to those just cited), but was notably absent in the Basin and Southwest, and may not have been nearly so strongly emphasized on the Northwest Coast. It cropped up again in a far distant area, the southern Great Lakes (Winnebago, Menomini, and probably Ojibway, Ottawa, Sauk-Fox, and Kickapoo), where the menstruant might not look up or out of the lodge. The otherwise unintelligible prescription that the Klamath maiden must dance with downcast eyes—for I did not find that there was any belief that her gaze was malignant—is thus explicable as a bald imitation of neighboring types of behavior.

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[668] Handbook, 875.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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It was equally characteristic of this group of rites that the rest during the day, which was dictated as proper, was interrupted by strenuous activity, which took two forms, gathering firewood and racing at dawn. Gathering wood was the Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, Karok, and Yurok custom; the Northeastern Maidu girl went off piling up logs. This was not the Klamath habit, unless I misunderstood my informants, yet it is analogous to the activities of their adolescent boys. It does appear again among the adjacent Paviotso. There was an analogue among the Mohave, the equally useless picking of leaves. The race at dawn, or where it is specified in the accounts, toward the dawn, was common to the Hupa, Karok, Northeastern Maidu, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Klamath, and Takelma (at midday?). This particular form of enforced activity was apparently absent both on the Northwest Coast and in central to southern California, but appeared again in the Southwest (Havasupai, White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Navaho).

One feature of the Klamath rite, the bands worn about the joints by the girl, appeared again in almost precisely the same form among the Chinook and somewhat differently perhaps among the Nisqually and Kwakiutl. Further, these were disposed of in the same specific fashion, by placing them in trees. This suggests that their use was more general than these data indicate.

As to the girl's posture during her rest this is not always explicitly described, but the implication is that she lay rather than sat. We observe however that the Tillamook posture was like that uniform in the north, namely sitting. This is noted again for Sacramento Valley Maidu and Wiyot, although in these cases the statements may be only a fashion of speech rather than a precise statement. The Klamath conformed to the general practice of the area of having the girl lie.

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The dance itself was held at night, each night of the period, throughout this whole area from the Wishram to the Huchnom. The notable exception was the Yurok who held no dance. The precise sequence of events was somewhat variable, but the dance form was not, and the dance rattle was uniform. Likewise, unlike in the regions north and south, the girl herself danced. Two dance forms occurred together, a ring of dancers and a line trotting to and fro. Their distributions were as follows: ring, Takelma, Shasta, Karok, Foothill and Northeastern Maidu, with perhaps the Hupa ring of stationary men as a doubtful analogue; to and fro, Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Karok, the Shasta form being

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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a line of men moving sideways. It was only in connection with the latter form of dance that the girl performed; to be specific it is known that she danced among Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and, though we do not know the dance form, Sinkyone and Yuki. Inasmuch as it is specified in the case of the last two that the girl was supported as she danced, we may well suspect that they had the same dance form. 171* 881 535

It should not be assumed that dancing during the puberty rite was confined to this area. Dancing may have occurred on the Northwest Coast in connection with the potlatch more commonly than recorded (Nootka and Ten'a?). There is nothing to suggest that it was the same form of performance, however. In southern California the dancing was about the girl as she lay on a hot bed (Luiseño, Juaneño, Miwok) and was apparently quite different in character and intent. Dancing was again characteristic of the Southwestern ceremonies (White Mountain and Jicarilla Apache, Pima), and again the White Mountain and Pima forms were lines moving to and fro, with the girl engaged with them in the case of the former. Even the Jicarilla girl herself danced. These specific features are suspiciously like those of northern California and Oregon. Perhaps we do not yet know all that can be learned of this rite in the Basin.

To revert to the dance rattle; it was prevailingly the deer-hoof jingler type, although handled somewhat varyingly. This has been noted for Klamath, Achomawi-Atsugewi, Northeastern Maidu, Shasta, Karok, and Tolowa, while the Hupa, Sinkyone, and again the Northeastern Maidu used the clapper rattle. This type of deer-hoof rattle was distinctively Californian and generally distributed in the state. So far as I know it does not occur north of the Klamath. The clapper rattle was on the other hand a central Californian type, as Kroeber has pointed out.[504] As he further remarks, rattles were used in northwestern California only in connection with adolescence ceremonies, but this was also true of the sector to the north and east apparently (Shasta, Achomawi-Atsugewi, certainly Klamath,[505] and perhaps Takelma and Coos). 171* 534

There is little information on the songs, but the little existing suggests that these were of two types only; songs about foodstuffs and about love affairs. Thus it is noted that the Sacramento Valley Maidu 171* 533

[504] Handbook, 823, 843.

[505] The Klamath acquired the use of the clapper rattle as well only with the Ghost dance of 1870.

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*171 533 sang about foodstuffs gathered by women, the Yuki about acorns, also a woman's food product. The Klamath sang about men and women; similar love songs have been noted for the Klallam and those of the Nootka were satirically sexual. This temptation to invoke the sexual implication of the occasion took another expression; a period of license during the dance among the Northeastern Maidu and the Yuki. It is highly probable that this attitude was widespread.

*171 787 How generally this crisis was made the occasion for a vision quest by the girl is not clear. This may have been a trait of Oregon and Washington alone. To be sure, the guardian spirit concept was but little developed in California, at least among more typical tribes. The girl was sent out at night by Nisqually, Tillamook, Coos, and perhaps the Klamath, to seek a spirit in the manner stereotyped for boys, wandering on the mountains and bathing in lonely pools.

*171 • 88 The whole performance was repeated at the following monthly periods in this area. The number of subsequent performances brought the total to five among the Klamath, conformable with their pattern number, to three among Achomawi-Atsugewi, Shasta, and Karok, to two among Chinook, Northeastern Maidu, and Sinkyone, while it was repeated at monthly intervals throughout the winter among the Hueh-nom. While the number of performances was variable, the habit of their repetition was confined to a fairly consolidated area. The Mohave custom of imposing restrictions at successive periods for a reduced number of days at each period is not directly comparable. It is rather analogous to the continued restriction of a month's duration at first menstruation imposed by Shivwits, Luiseño, and Coast Central Pomo. There is no indication of such continuous restrictions in the Oregon-north Californian area, but this was characteristic again of the Northwest Coast tribes who imposed them for a period upward to a year (a year, Ten'a, Tlingit, Tsimshian, Bella Coola; six months to a year, Tahltan; four to ten months, Nootka; six to eight months, Nisqually; five months, Quinault; fifty or one hundred days, Chinook).

*171 841 [756] The place of the Klamath in all this is fairly clear. They have very little concern with women's periodicity and its possible social or ceremonial significance. Women are not excluded from home at their periods save in the case of those living with shamans. The rigorous segregation that occurs on all sides of them, throughout the Pacific coast, the Plateau, and Basin, made practically no impression on the Klamath. It is surely not accidental that it is the near-by Wishram who also care nothing for such restriction. Such restrictions as do

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occur among the Klamath are the well-nigh universal taboo of fresh fish and meat, and the use of the scratcher. On the other hand, the Klamath share a rite at first menstruation with the Pacific coast peoples. Their rite is of the local type known throughout western Oregon and northern California, and is only slightly distinguished by peculiar detail. They follow the interior practice of sending the girl away from the dwelling and maintaining the dance for five days. They link with some of their neighbors and the northwest Californians in using the deer-hoof rattle only in this rite. Possibly they share with the tribes to the north some feeling that this is an appropriate time for the girl to secure spirit power. For the rest, the rite is generally like that of western Oregon and northern California, even to such specific details as having the girl recline at length during the day, running at dawn, and in the general practice of repeating the whole affair for some months subsequently. Other general features appear only in diminished or attenuated form: only one of the two dance forms, the line abreast, is known, and, while the gaze of girls of this area is averted by a visor, the Klamath demand only that she voluntarily keep her eyes cast down.

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		K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
30	1689. Dentalia	R	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1690. Olivella whole shells	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	.	.	+	.
	1691. Clamshell disk beads	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1692. Haliotis pieces	–	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1693. Banjo-shaped haliotis pendant	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1694. Bone tubes	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1695. Deer, coyote, wildcat carpals	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1696. Pine nuts or shells	(+)	•+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1697. Braided sweet grass		o					+	o	+	+	–	–	o	–	–	–
	1698. Wildflowers	R	–	–	•+		•–				+	–	+	+	+•	+	–
	1699. Belts of hair	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1700. Worn by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1701. Worn continually	–	–	–	–					+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1702. Worn on special occasions only	+	+	+	+					–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1703. Flower wreaths on head	–	–	–	•+		–		+	•+	+	–	–	•+	+	+•	–
(38)	1704. Boys and girls, playing	.	–	–	+		–		+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	1705. Girls, at girl's puberty dance	R	–	–	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	Cane or Staff																
48	1706. Straight stick	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1707. Sharpened at lower end	–	–	+					+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
	1708. Used by old people	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1709. Old men																
	1710. Old women	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
(76)	1711. Single cane	+	+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1712. 2 canes, if crippled		+	+					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Dress																
	Headgear																
29	1713. Basketry cap	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1714. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1715. 3-strand diagonal twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1716. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1717. Worn habitually, by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1718. Worn habitually, by men	+	–	–	–	–	•–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1719. Worn for packing, not worn habitually	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1720. Worn for dances, not worn habitually.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	R	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1721. Designs on cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	R	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1722. Men's undecorated	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1723. Fur cap	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1724. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1725. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1726. Buckskin cap	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1727. Solid buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1728. Buckskin pierced with holes	–	–	–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1729. Worn habitually	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	•–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1730. Band around head	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	•+
	1731. Buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1732. Fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
(75)	1733. Men only	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	1734. Doctors only	+	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1735. Eyeshade	•+	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
(75)	1736. Charcoal around eyes for snow-blindness	+	•+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	Robes																
	1737. Woven rabbitskin blanket	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	•+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WH	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
2087. Feathers on stick handle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2088. Number of cocoons	-	-	-	-	3	3	6	-	-	4	5	5	4	5	3	5
2089. Used by shaman in curing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2090. Used by Big Head singers	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	+	-	-	-	-
2091. Used for any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2092. Used by "dreamer," calling spirit										-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2093. Cocoon-type rattle as child's toy	-	-	-	+		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Split-stick clapper	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2095. Single split	R	-	R	-	+	R	+	R	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+
2096. Multiple splits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2097. Painted	-	-	R	-	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2098. Burned decoration	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2099. For girl's puberty dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2100. For war dance	-	-	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2101. For Ghost dance	-	-	R	-		R		R	R	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2102. For any singing or dancing	-	-	-	-	+	R	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2103. Snake rattles on stick	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Deer-hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2105. Stick handle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2106. On cord or thong, no handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2107. Worn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2108. Number of hoofs	10	20	7	15	20	20	20	-	25	8	20	1	2	4	-	-
2109. For girl's puberty	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2110. For any singing or dancing	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2111. Basket rattle	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2112. Child's toy	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2113. Beads tied together, child's toy	R	+	-			+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rasp																
2114. Notched-wood rasp	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2115. Basket scraped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
Bull-roarer, Musical Bow																
2116. Bull-roarer	R	-	-	-	R	-	+	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2117. Wood	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	+
2118. Bone or horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2119. Produces storm or wind	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2120. Produces sickness	-	-	-	-	-	/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/	-
2121. Only shamans use	-	-	-	-	-	/	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2122. Only boys, men use	-	-	-	-	R			+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2123. For amusement, boys	R	-	-	-	R	-	-	+	-	R	-	-	-	-	-	-
2124. Musical bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Hunting bow	R	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Separate instrument	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2127. Played with finger	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2128. Played with stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2129. Boys only						+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Whistles and Flutes																
2130. Whistle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2131. Single hole	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Grass wrapped at edge of hole	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-			-	-	-	+	-	-
2133. Bone	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2134. Bird or rodent	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	R	R	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
2135. Large mammal	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
2136. Elder	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	R	-	R	-	-	-	+	+	-
2137. Cane	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	XF	XM	XS	MV
842	3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	°	-			°	+	-	°	-	.	.	-	-	+	.
	3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	-			+	+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	.
	3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	-	-	-			-	-	-	°	-	.	.	-	-	+	.
	3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	-	-	-						°	-	.	.	-	-	-	.
	3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	.	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	.	-	+	-	-	R
847	3408. Abortion	.	.	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	.	-	°	-	-	R
	3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	.	.	-	+	-	-
	3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	°	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	.	-	-	-	-
	3411. Exercise	-	-	+								.	.	-	-	-	-
	3412. Blows or pressure	.	-	+	-	-	-	.	+	+	-	.	.	-	-	-	-
	3413. Old woman helps	.	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	.	-	.	.	-	-	-	-
	3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	.	.	-	-	-	-
		.	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	.	.	-	+	-	-
	Puberty and Menstrual Customs																
	Girls' Puberty Ceremony																
841																	
88	3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3417. In menstrual hut	-	-	+	+	°	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
	3418. In cook house	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3419. In dwelling, winter only	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3420. In open	+	+	°	°	°	°	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
	3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3422. Night time	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	-	-	°	+	-	-	-	-	°	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
[516]	3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
	3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	-
	3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	3428. Bark pillow	-	-	-	°	-	°	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	-	-	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	-
	3430. Girl lies on back	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
	3432. Girl lies in any position	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	°	-	-	+	+	°	-	(+)	-	+	-	-
	‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
	o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	12	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	5	10	3	5	3	-	-	-	6	5	6	5	4	-
	o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	0	0	6	0	4	-
	‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	1	2	2	2	1	11	1	-	1	-	5	-	1
	3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+				
	3442. Mother's mother attends girl	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3443. Mother attends girl	-	-	+		+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-
	3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	-	-	-				°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
[465]	3445. 2 or more attendants	-	-	-	-			-					+	+	+	-	°
	3446. All attendants paid	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
	3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	-	-	+				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3448. Attendant paid in beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
	3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	HF	HM	HS	HT
†3451. Girl eats sparingly ... days	5	5	8	10	3	6	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28
†3452. Girl eats sparingly ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
3453. Meals limited to twice daily	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3454a. After sunrise, before sunset.	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3454b. Fresh fish taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3455. Dried fish taboo	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3456. Meat taboo	+	+	+	◦	◦	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3457. Grease taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3458. Salt taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3459. Berries taboo	+	+	–	+	◦	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3460. New crop acorns, seeds taboo	–		+						◦	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3461. Hot food taboo	◦								+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
3462. Cold water taboo	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
3463. River water taboo	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
‡3464. Food taboos extend over ... days	–	+	–						◦		–	–	–	–	–	–
†3465. Food taboos extend over ... yrs.	5	5	8	10	3	6	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	28
3466. Food taboos observed all subsequent periods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
3467. Girl eats outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3468. Girl eats inside hut, dwelling	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3469. Eats with woman attendant	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3470. Girl uses own baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	◦
3471. Baskets kept; left in hut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3472. Baskets destroyed			+		+						+	+	–	–	–	◦
3473. Baskets hung on tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–
3474. Cane drinking tube used			–				+		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3475. Basket "cup" used for drinking	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3476. Ceremonial feeding by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	◦	–	+	+
3477. Mother feeds girl, cleans teeth	–	+	+	+	(+)	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	+	–	◦
3478. Girl's mouth wiped by attendant	–	–	+			+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
3479. Girl chews plant substance	–	◦	◦	+	+	+	◦	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	◦	–	◦
3479a. Plant substance stuffed in nostrils	+	◦	◦		◦	◦	+	–	–	–	–	◦	–	◦	–	◦
3480. Girl sleeps little, fitfully	–	–	–		◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–
3481. No daytime sleeping, first day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	(–)	+
3482. Charcoal in ears, to avoid bad dreams	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3483. Bark burned above hut, to frighten evil spirits	+	–	+		+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3483a. Menstruant must tell her bad dreams	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3483b. If dreams, doctored by special doctor		(+)	+	+		+	–	–	–	+	+	.	–	–	–	–
3484. Girl rises early		+	+	–		+	+	+	–	–	+	.	–	–	–	–
3485. No talking during seclusion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	◦	◦
3486. Little talking	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3487. Must talk softly	–	◦	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3488. Cannot laugh aloud	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3489. Girl avoids all men in daytime	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	.	–
3490. Avoids all hunters	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3491. Old women visit girl	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
3492. Old women instruct girl	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3493. Gazing at any fire taboo	–	–	–	–	–	(+)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	◦	+
3494. Gazing at sun taboo	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	[821]
3494a. Weak eyes, if gaze at sun	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3495. Gazing at moon taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	+	.	–	.	+	.	–
3496. Gazing at sky taboo	+	+	+	+	◦	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3497. Looking around taboo	–	◦	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
3498. Looking at acorns taboo	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
3499. Looking at any wild crops taboo	○	○	–	–	–	–	○	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3500. Gaze would "kill" crops	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
3500a. Crossing streams taboo	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	◦	+
3501. Menstruant bathes daily	.	+	+	+	◦	◦	+	+	+	+	–	+	◦	+	◦	+
3502. Menstruant bathes after flow ceases	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[515]
	–	+	+						+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–

		Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
84	3503. Bathes last day of seclusion only	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
88	3504. Bathes outside, in stream	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
[515]	3505. Bathes inside, house	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
	3506. May wet, wash hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	3507. Bathes alone	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3508. Mother, attendant helps girl bathe	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
[302]	3509. Girl uses head scratcher	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+
	3510. Bone head scratcher	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3511. Stick head scratcher	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	‡3512. Head scratcher used ... days	5	5	5	10	3	5	3	5	–	28	6	5	6	5	4	28
	†3513. Head scratcher used ... years	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3513a. Parents scratch girl's head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	3514. Delousing by attendant	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	◦	–	+	–	+	+	.	+
[292]	3515. Girl wears basket cap	+	+	+	+	◦	–	–	–	◦	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3515a. Girl wears flower crown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3516. Head covered with bark "cape"	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3517. Head covered with deerskin blanket	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3518. Head inside basket when sleeping	+	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3519. Eagle down in hair	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3520. Feathers in hair	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[30]	3521. Braided bark forehead band	◦	◦	–	–	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3522. Fur forehead band	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3523. Feather visor	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3524. Head, face covered inside house	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3525. Head, face covered when going outside	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	◦	◦	–	◦	–	◦	–	◦	◦
	3526. Hair in 2 braids, over shoulders	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
	3526a. Hair in 1 braid, down back	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3527. Braid(s) wrapped with bark	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3528. Hair in 2 knobs, over shoulders, wrapped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3529. Knobs wrapped with bark	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3530. Hair short, banged	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3531. Hair loose, tied at back	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	3532. Mother combs, dresses girl's hair	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
	3533. Attendant dresses girl's hair	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
	3534. Hair dressed once only, first day	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3535. Hair dressed daily	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	(+)	+
	3536. Combings burned, buried	–	–	–	–		–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–
	3537. Combings saved for belt	–	–	+								+	–	–	–	–	–
	3538. Girl's face painted black	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦
	3539. Girl's face painted red	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3540. Special face pattern	–	–	–	+	–	–	◦	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3541. Daily varied face patterns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3542. Charcoal around eyes								+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3543. Arms painted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3544. Girl painted daily	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
	3545. Girl painted by mother	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	3546. Girl painted by attendant	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦
	3547. Girl wears old clothing	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	◦	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
	3547a. Small skin over shoulders	(+)	(+)	+								.	–	–	–	–	–
	3548. Buckskin skirt or dress	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3549. Pine-nut string skirt			–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3550. Bark skirt	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	◦	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3551. Short tule, grass skirt	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
	3552. Grass or skin breechclout	.	◦	◦	◦	◦	.	+		◦	.	–	◦	◦	–	–	–
	3553. Buckskin leggings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3554. Tule leggings	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3555. Tule, skin moccasins	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3556. Barefoot, preferred	+		–			+	–	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+
[30]	3557. Anklets	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–

	X1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
3558. Wristlets	%	%	-	-	-	%	%	-	-	-	%	-	-	-	-	-
3559. Special belt	-	%	%	%	-	%	%	-	%	-	%	%	%	-	-	-
3560. Nose stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3561. Earrings, optional	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3562. Necklaces	-	-	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	%	-	-	-	-	-
3563. All labor taboo during isolation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-
3564. Preparing food taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3565. Basketmaking taboo	-	+	+	+	%	%	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3566. No labor taboo	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3567. Compulsory light labor	%	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
3568. Compulsory heavy labor	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
3569. Girl must carry firewood	+	+	%	%	%	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	%	-	%
3570. Girl must carry water	+	-	+	-	%	%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3571. Girl must pound roots	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3572. Girl must gather vegetable food	-	-	+	-	%	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	%
3573. Girl gives roots she digs to old woman	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3574. Girl makes baskets	-	-	-	-	%	%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3575. Compulsory running, racing	+	-	-	-	%	%	%	-	%	-	+	+	-	%	-	-
3576. Girl runs each morning	-	-	-	-	+	%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3577. Girl runs in evening	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3578. Girl runs at end of rite only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
3579. Girl races with 2 girls	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3580. Carries deer-hoof rattle when running	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3581. Vision seeking during running, dancing	-	-	-	-	%	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3582. Instruction by attendant during seclusion	-	(+)	-	-	%	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3583. Ears pierced during puberty ceremony	-	-	-	-	%	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3584. Ears pierced shortly after puberty rites	-	-	-	-	-	%	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3585. Dance follows ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	-	%	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
3586. Vision seeking after ear-piercing	-	-	-	-	+	%	(+)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3587. Ears pierced prepuberty	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	%	-	-	-
3588. Ears pierced postpuberty	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
3589. Ceremonial purification at end of puberty ceremony	%	%	%	+	+	+	+	+	%	%	+	+	+	+	+	%
3590. Girl bathes to remove taboos	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3591. Mother, attendant wash girl	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	%	+
3591a. Girl bathes alone	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
3592. Sage decoction used for bath	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3593. Girl rubbed with pine needle, root medicine	-	-	+								-	+	%	+	-	-
3594. Girl rubbed with salt												+	-	-	-	-
3595. Sweat bath to remove taboos	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3596. Girl jumps in stream after sweating	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3597. Girl changes clothes, end of rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3597a. Girl given new clothes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3598. Old clothes burnt	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	
3599. Old clothes saved for limited no. menses	%	%	%	-	%	%	%	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3599a. Old clothes kept in hut; loaned, used by near relatives	-	-	+					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3600. Old clothes washed	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3601. Old clothes given or thrown away	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	%
3602. Old clothes hung on tree			-				+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3603. Old clothes exchanged for new ones	-	-	-		+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	%
3604. Sagebrush band kept	+	-	-			+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3605. Anklets, wristlets burned	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3606. Belt kept permanently	-	-	%	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-

84/88 [301] [787] [304] [783]

		K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
84 88	3606a. Belt given attendant	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3607. Belt hung on tree, end of last dance.	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3608. Public rites: major dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
84	3609. Night dance	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	+	+*	+*	+	+	–	+*	–	+*
88 535	3609a. Begins 1st night of girl's menstruation	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
	3610. Day dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+*	–	–	–
	3611. Given mainly for girls of rich families	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	(+)
[787]	3612. Given to avert disaster to participant(s)	+*	+*	+	+*	+*	+*	+	+*	+*	·	+	+	+*	+	–	+*
	3613. Given to have girl get power in dreams	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	–
	‡3614. Lasts ... nights or days	5	5	3	10	3	3	3	5	3	5	4	5	1	5	–	1
	‡3615. Repeated for ... subsequent menses.	5	5	1	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	–	1	–	5	–	1
	3616. Held in dwelling or cookhouse, winter	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3617. Held in sweat house, winter	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3618. Held outside, summer or winter	–	–	+*	+*	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
	3619. Held outside, summer only	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
	3620. Rainy weather, no dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
	3621. Rainy weather, sing only, in girl's hut	–	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
	3622. Girl's family in charge	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+*	–	–	–	–	+
	3623. Old man in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+*	–	+	–	+	–	–
[756]	3623a. Singers in charge	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	3624. Shaman in charge	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3625. Youths, men participate	+	+*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	3626. Girls, women participate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3626a. Girl's suitor may participate	–	–	–				+	–	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	–
	3627. Neighbors notified by girl's sister, friend	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	3628. Girl dances by self, near group	+	+	+	–	+	+	+*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3629. 1-2 persons "support" menstruant	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	+*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3630. Girl dances with group	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	○3631. Girl dances each night	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+*	+*	–	+	–	+	–
	3632. Youths dance	–	–	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	3633. Men dance	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3634. Old men dance	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3635. Betrothed dances with menstruant	–	–	–				+*	–	–	+*	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3636. Women, girls dance	–	–	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	3637. Menstruant dances beside fire	+	+	+*	–	–	–	+*	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3638. Menstruant dances back and forth	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3639. Menstruant dances east to west	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3640. Menstruant faces E continually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3641. Menstruant rests at intervals	+	+	+	+*	+	–	–	+	+	+	+*	+	–	–	–	+
	3642. Men, women dance separately	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	3643. Men, women dance together	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–
	3644. Men, women in 1 circle	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	3645. Men, women in 2 circles	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3646. Men, women abreast, 1 line	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	3647. Men, women abreast, 2 lines	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3648. Clockwise start	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	+	+	+
	3649. Counterclockwise start	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	·	–	–	–	–
	3650. Dance proceeds around pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	3651. Dance proceeds around fire	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
[533]	3652. Singers mainly women	+	+*	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+*	+*	–	+*
[562]	3653. Singers mainly men	–	–	–	–	+	+*	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3654. Volunteer singers, men and women	+*	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	3655. Professional singers	+	+	–					–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
	3656. 1 singer paid	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	·	–	–	–	–

	K1	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MP	NP	NM	NS	MV
3657. 4-5 (all) singers paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–	+
3658. Reciprocal obligations only	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
3659. Menstruant sings	–	–	–	–	◔	+	+	+	–	·	–	+	–	–	–	–
3660. Participants join in singing	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
3661. Night singing, minus dancing	–	–	·	◔	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
3662. "Love" songs sung	◔	◔	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–	–
3663. Enemy songs sung, final dance	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3664. Women's songs sung	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+
3665. Special song cycle sung	◔	◔	·	◔	(+)	+	+	+	–	+	+	·	·	+	–	+
3666. Joking by singers	◔	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◔	◔	–	–	+
3667. Multiple split-stick rattle used by menstruant, singers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3668. Deer-hoof rattle used by singers	+	+	+	+	◔	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	◔	–	–
3669. Deer-hoof rattle used by menstruant	–	–	+	+	◔	–	–	–	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3670. Stick hit against board, as drum	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3671. Whistle used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔	–
3672. Singing, dancing continues throughout night	+	+	–		◔	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
3673. Singing, dancing ends middle of night	–	–	+		–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
3674. Entire assembly fed, middle of night.	+	◔	+	+	◔	◔	R	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
3675. Singers, dancers bathe daily	–	–	+					+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3676. Girl's attendant(s) have eyebrows, face blackened	(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3677. Men wear eagle down plumes	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	◔	◔	+	+	–	+	–	–
3678. Men wear fur headband	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3679. Men wear woodpecker scalp headband	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
3680. Men paint face red	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
3680a. Men paint face white	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	–	–	–	–
3680b. Men paint face black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3681. Men wear bead necklaces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
3682. Men wear bead net	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
3683. Men wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
3684. Menstruant wears braided grass fringed visor	–	–	–	–			◔									
3685. Women wear basket cap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3686. Women wear yellowhammer bands	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3687. Women wear brush, flower crowns	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔
3688. Women paint faces red	–	+	+	+	+	+	◔	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3689. Women paint faces black	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3690. Women carry branches in hands	–	–	–					+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3691. Boys, girls wear flower wreaths	–	–	–					◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3692. Dress, headgear changed nightly	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	·	–	–	–	–
3693. Public rites: minor day dances.	–	–	+	–	◔	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	◔	–	–
3694. Menstruant dances	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
3695. Men dance	–	–	+	–	–	–		(+)	–	+	–	·	–	–	–	–
3696. Women dance	–	–	+	–	◔	+		(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
o3697. Lasts ... days	–	–	3	–	3	3		·	–	·	–	5	–	5	–	–
3698. Lasts part of each day only	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
3699. Held in open	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
3700. Rain in winter, no dance	–	–	(+)	–	–	◔			–		–		–	–	–	–
3701. Circle dance	–	–	–	–	+	+		–			–		–	–	–	–
3702. Dancers abreast, 1 line	–	–	+	–	–	–		–			–		–	–	–	–
3703. Special songs, female singers	–	–	·	–	+	+		–			–		–	–	–	–
3704. Public concluding rites	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3705. Held in daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3706. "War" dance	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–
3707. Round dance	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3708. Dancers abreast, in 1 line	–	–	–	+				◔								
3708a. Women grasp men's belts	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3709. Feather visor lifted off menstruant	–	–	◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[841] [88] [535] [522] [533] [515] [292] [337] [302]

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WN	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	NV
3710. Menstruant's ears pierced	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3711. Girl dances in front of dancers	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3712. Girl stands on view in finery	–	–	–	–				+	◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	+
3712. Betrothed stands on view with girl	–	–	–	–						+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3714. Poor girl may stand with rich celebrant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
3715. Visitors present food	–	–		+	+	–	–		+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3716. Visitors feasted after dance	–	–		+	◔	–	R	+	(+)	+	–	(+)	+	–	–	+
3717. Visitors given return gifts of food	–	–		+	–	–	–		◔	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
3718. Girl runs at daybreak	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	(+)	–
3719. Spectators throw lighted sticks at girl	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3720. Girl's anklets, wristlets burnt	◔	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3721. Girl passes through fire	–	–	–	◔	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◔	◔	–	–	–
3721a. Girls sing, escort menstruant to stream															+	–
Boys' Puberty Observances																
3722. Formal group rites	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
3723. Secret society initiation	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
3724. Individual vision questing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
3725. Optional, for all boys of group	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
General Menstrual Customs																
3726. Certain foods taboo to all menstruants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3727. Meat, fresh or dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3728. Fresh fish	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3729. Dried fish	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3730. Grease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3731. Salt	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
3732. Cold water	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3733. Menstruant eats alone	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3734. Daughter may eat with mother								+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
3735. Uses separate receptacles	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3736. Menstruant stays in dwelling house	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
3737. Menstruant secluded	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
3738. In menstrual hut or sookhouse	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
o3739. For ... days and nights	5	5	5	5	5	–	–	5	◔	◔	5	5	–	5	–	5
3740. All women	◔	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
3741. Shamans' wives only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3742. Old women attend menstruant											–	+	–	+	–	–
3743. Certain activities taboo	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3744. Basketmaking	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3745. Wood gathering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
3746. Preparing vegetable food	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
3747. Preparing vegetable food for family	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3747a. Cooking meat	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3747b. If cook meat, give hunters bad luck													+	+	+	+
3748. Intercourse taboo	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
3749. Cannot sleep with back to man	–		–			+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3750. Walking beside streams taboo			.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	–	+
3751. Toiletry taboos	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3752. Hair left uncombed	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
o3753. Head scratcher used for ... periods after puberty	5	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	–	–
3754. Head scratcher obligatory all periods	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
3755. No bathing during period	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3756. Purificatory bath, end of period; obligatory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Man taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube. Father lies down, after birth of child. Father uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
845 moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house. Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

881 head; pollen on head. Legs, torso painted; white paint blown on with mouth; pollen blown on. Painting done by self; from own paint box. Painting before eating only. Tattooing. Nose pierced. Tattooing so girl can touch fire. Thighs, arms, breasts cut. Shell skirt for eating. Sage leggings. Chest band. Labret. Nose feather. Girl ducked in water during ceremonial bath. Belt, anklets, wristlets buried. Girl given new name.

Public rites (major or night dance): Given for group of selected girls. Poor girls excluded. Several girls together, only 1 menstruating. Dancers mill around menstruant. Men hold to wall. Dancers file out of house after each dance. Given during fixed season. Coincides with boys' initiation. Given in ceremonial enclosure. Conducted by chief, priest, clan. Single split-stick rattle. Deer-hoof headband. Deer-hoof anklets. Deer hoofs on moccasins. Cocoon, gourd, tortoise shell, pottery rattles. Masks worn. Attendants wear woolen fringed headdress; woolen fringed rattles. Male participants wear haliotis-rim horns; blind. Women paint face white; all colors. Sand paintings. Tobacco eaten. Haliotis gazing.

841 General menstrual customs.--Woman confined in penthouse against dwelling. Head, face covered when going outside. Bathes daily. Bathing optional.

Marriage

58 Service for bride: children belong to mother's family. Sororate obviated if children, payment rendered. Polyandry: lovers in separate towns. Marriage of man to first cousins, cross or parallel; to mother's sister. Mother-in-law, son-in-law taboos temporary, for newlyweds only; temporary up to first child; optional. Father-in-law, son-in-law taboos. Mother-in-law, daughter-in-law taboos. Husband punished for adultery by being fined, before wife will return. Woman's family pays husband fine for constructive adultery by woman. Repayment of bride price in event of divorce depends on number of children. Intercourse taboo inside dwelling. Lie on side to
548 prevent twins. Prostitution with compensation
684 to woman. Unchaste girl killed. Unmarried pregnant girl killed. Man fined for seduction.

Death

764 Treatment of corpse; taboos.--Body removed from house prior to death. Removed from house through roof; feet first; throw-out of animal after corpse; body carried on plank. Undertakers of opposite moiety; priest; shaman; chosen by chief; paid; gifts; one a scapegoat. Corpse's nose, ears pierced. Body buried with head uphill, upstream, downstream. Cremation for shamans especially. Pyre over pit. Urn burial. Any form scaffold burial. Undertaker(s) visit grave nightly; build fire at grave; put food out for ghost; wear brush on head. Widow's hair cut-

000 3445. MV: Old woman and young girl helper.
3451. SE: 8-10 days. At: Eats acorn soup, sparingly. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4 days.
3456. SW: If eat meat, ruin luck of hunter who has shot game; hunter must obtain more luck before he can kill anything afterward. At: If menstruant eats meat will lose her teeth. AW: Fresh deermeat makes menstruant ill, because deer hair grows inside woman if she eats meat at this time. Also, if menstruant eats meat, fish she will make hunter, fisherman sick; weaken his bow and arrow; spoil fishing grounds, etc.
3459. At: All berries except manzanita berries taboo.
3460. WM: New crop acorns taboo. Crop would be spoiled, and next year's crop would fail.
[891 267] 3461. Kl: "Afraid girl would lose her teeth."
3463. WM: Girl drinks creek water only; "salmon in the river; girl would spoil them."
3464. SE: 8-10 days. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.
3468. MV: Winter only.
3469. MV: 2 female singers eat with girl, also.
3471. MV: See element 3450.
3476. AW: Someone has to give girl water; "if she gets it herself, she will have bad teeth." MF, MV: Girl fed acorn mush on end of forked stick. MF: Attendant holds basket of water to girl's lips.
3477. Twig used to clean teeth.
3478. Mo, SE, MF: Grass, buckskin, etc. AE, MF, MM, MV: Shredded bark used to wipe mouth.
3479. Mo, SE, AW: Chew kinnikinick leaves, berries, or sunflower roots. At, AW, MF, MM: Pine needles or pine gum.
3479a. At, MM: Juniper. AW, MM: Pine tassel (?). AE: Peppermint. At, MM, AW, AE: Done so "girl can't smell meat cooking." At: "So girl won't smell tobacco smoke, or odor of sweat under armpits."
3480. WS: Girl may sleep all day.
3484. NS: Girl made to lie down for entire period. MV: Rises early and bathes.
3486. Mo: If talks too much, will become a "chatterbox."
3488. WM: Cannot laugh because taboo to show teeth; reason unknown.
3492. Instruction concerns conduct, housekeeping, and other things. MV: Old women visitors fed by girl's attendant.
3494a. WT: Would see evil spirit.
3495. At: If looks at moon, it will rain.
3500. NS: Acorns will drop off trees.
3500a. At, AW: If girl steps in water, it will rain. See note 3612, At. MM: If menstruant woodgathering, another woman carries her across "any little creek."
3502. See 3589-3596.
[302 515 881] 3509. Kl: If girl uses fingers, hair will turn white when still young. "They don't want this to happen." Also, if girl washes face with hands, it will soon become wrinkled and she will quickly look old. MM: Girl's hands tied together sometimes, to prevent her scratching self with fingers.

[218-B]

000 3512. SE: 8-10 days. At: 3-6. AW: 6-12. AE: 3-4.

3515. At: Worn attached to skirt or belt, in back. See note 3572. "If girl wears basket cap on head when menstruating, she will dream and get gray hair." WM: Old basket cap, worn chiefly when going outside hut.

3516. AE: Greasewood-bark woven "cape."

3518. Mo: Pack basket. SE, SW: Basket hopper.

3520. AW: Aberrant use of feather; old man or woman, if has power and "wants to get rid of it and give it to girl," puts 1 feather in girl's head when she is dancing at puberty dance.

[301] [824] [881] 3521. Kl, Mo, At, AW: Braided sagebrush. AE: Greasewood bark. At, AW, AE: Bark pendant from band extends down back. Mo: Lacks pendant down back.

3522. SE: Mink.

3523. SE, SW: Bluejay feathers. WS: Informant reported having seen girl's puberty dance among Scott Valley Shasta, 50 yrs. ago, in which girl wore visor of grouse feathers. Dance lasted 2-3 weeks, but at end visor not lifted off girl; latter wore visor throughout ensuing summer.

3525. SE, SW: Feather visor. WT: Girl's mother or grandmother takes girl outside; never allowed her to go alone. At night attendant carries torch. WM: Basket. MM: Basket cap. NF: Pack basket. NS: Girl does not leave hut 4 days and nights; hole dug inside hut to serve as latrine; covered with dirt afterward. MV: Deerskin blanket.

3527. Sagebrush-bark wrappings.

3536. WT: Burned. NF: Buried.

3538. MV: Burnt pepperwood gourds used.

3540. AE: 3 red stripes (1 each down nose and cheeks), if girl is dancing for 3 nights; 4th stripe, down chin, added if girl is dancing for 4 nights. (See left figure, below.) WM: Alternate red and black dots from eyes down cheeks. (See right figure, below.)

3546. MV: Girl painted by 2 female singers each morning.

3547. WM: Wears old deer-hide skirt, especially when going outside to run. Hide tanned with hair on; has been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for ca. 10 years. Taboo for girl to touch newly tanned skirt; "an old skirt will help her; she won't be afraid of anything."

3550. WM: During menstrual periods, wears maple-bark double skirt, with breechclout underneath; bark skirt likely to become stained, so

DOO is evening when girl runs she wears buckskin skirt over bark one; removes buckskin skirt when she returns to her hut.

3552. Serves as menstrual pad. Mo: Shredded sagebrush. SE: Grass. SW, MF, NF: Buckskin. At: Sagebrush encased in bark. AW: Front skirt (of grass, tule, buckskin) tucked in between legs. WM: Soft maple bark; changed frequently, burned secretly.

[30 824 881] 3557. Kl, Mo: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM, MF: Of buckskin.

3558. Kl, Mo, AW: Of sagebrush bark. AE: Of greasewood bark, braided. MM: Of buckskin.

3559. Mo, AE: Of sage or greasewood. SE, SW, WM: Hair belt. SW: Hair belt purchased; decorated with triangular pieces of shell that rattle when girl dances. Kept, worn any time afterward. AW, AE: Pack strap for belt. MM, MF, NF: Buckskin belt.

3562. SE: Sweet-grass necklace. MM: Pine-nut necklace.

3565. At: Hand might be paralyzed. AW: "Some said a girl would ruin a basket she'd started, or the weeds [Xerophyllum], if she made baskets."

[46 98] 3567. Kl: "If girl doesn't work outside, she'll be lazy."

3569. SE, SW, MM: For every household in village. At: Girl gets light loads of wood, every day, at noontime. MM: All women sing as girl goes to top of hill for wood. MV: Gathers wood final 2 days of seclusion only.

3570. At: Menstruating girl "never touches water. That's no good, you'll dream bad."

3571. For everyone asking her to do so.

3572. At: If girl menstruates in season when roots are dug, she digs them for old women during daytime. At noon, girl dances and old woman hits ("spanks") her on basket cap; girl then runs east as old woman shouts. Girl returns to an old woman who beckons to her; this old woman pinches girl's left forefinger hard, so that she will fill up the basket with roots quickly, and hits her on basket cap. The girl then goes off to gather roots, which she puts in the basket cap, and transfers to the old women's pack baskets. She is supposed to fill 3 pack baskets before sundown. The next day girl goes to another family, to dig roots. "The old women liked this help; they'd say, 'Oh, I wish she would do this every day, dig roots for me.'" This is done not only at first-puberty rites, but during every menstrual period before girl marries. If no roots, girl gathers fruit during day for her mother. MV: Final 2 days of seclusion menstruant, attendants, and women gather clover; return to village wearing wild-rose crowns. Give clover to "captains" (yeponi) to eat in sweat house.

3574. At, AW: See note 3565.

3575. At: So she will be a good runner. At, AW: To catch shadow. AW, AE: To fetch water for someone. WM, NM: Brings back sticks. This denied for WS, MM, MF, NF, NS, MV. At: Girl runs toward E.

000 3586. AW: See note 3584. AE: Girl may obtain vision while she is dancing after having ears, nose pierced.

[94 1] 3587. NW: Ca. 10 years of age.

[88 1] 3589. Kl, Mo, SE: Sweat bath after first 5 or
[78 3] 3 menstrual periods. WM, WS: 1 month or 1 year after girl first menstruates. MV: 1 month after first menstruation.

3591. MS: Menstruant followed to stream by sister, girl relatives who sing for her, early morning 5th day.

3593. NW: Wormwood decoction.

3597a. Either at end of each menstrual period, or at end of entire puberty ceremony.

[84 1] 3599. Kl: For 5 periods. Mo: For 3-5. SE,
[82 1] At, AW, AE: For 3.

3601. MV: To old woman attendant.

3603. MV: Exchanged with girl attendant.

3606. SE: Worn each subsequent menstruation.

[88 1] 3609. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, At, AE, AW, WM, WS, MV:
[53 5] Emphasized jollity connected with girl's puberty dance. Lack of ritual obligations on any of participants except menstruant, made it (SW) "most popular and well attended of all the dances." NM: Puberty dance, yomuse. MV: Round dance held on final night of girl's 28-day seclusion. "This [night] dance was the main dance; each night (of the 28) the people came and gambled; the girl's family fed the visitors."

3610. NW: Name of day dance, wulu. Held after girl has come out of menstrual hut, and bathed; in daytime. Girl and women dance in circle, holding hands; no fire, pole. Dance a short while, then 2 women singers, with girl between them, sing, girl joining in singing. No deer-hoof rattle.

[88 1] 3612. So girl will not dream bad dreams; will
[53 5] have good luck. Kl: "If girl sleeps little
[77 7] while, she dreams there's a noise in the sky; she
[78 7] dreams of thunder. That's a bad dream, so they keep her dancing all night, for 5 nights, so she won't dream." Mo: "If she sleeps at this time, the girl will dream about thunder, then it will sure strike her, and kill her." SW: Girl's puberty dance "just a common good-time dance, held to help the girl out of her trouble, to keep her from dreaming" (see also note 3721). At: Girl sleeps head toward east; "the west, they said, was a bad place, where bad dreams come from, Silver Fox said... They dance with her all night, to make her lively, so she won't sleep and dream ... [when girl is menstruating] she never touches water; that's no good; she'll dream bad." AW: Given "so the girl will get power in 'dreams' as she gets sleepier and sleepier, dancing. But she must not tell anyone what she dreams. They don't let her sleep in the daytime; if she sleeps she'll dream bad for herself and be sick." WT: Puberty observances held "so girl won't dream bad dreams." On first day of menstruation, girl's grandmother sits by her, sings, uses clapper to keep girl awake. WM: Girl "never dreamt bad, but her grandmother, who was staying with her, might; she might

000 dream that some animal came and packed her away. NF: Girl stays in menstrual hut because "a big buzzard [Thunder?] would come if she went outside, and take her up to the sky. They come to get the girl; coming down they sound like thunder; that's why people are careful of girls." The day dance is given to celebrate girl's maturity, as well as to avert disaster to girl. MV: Given so girl will be lucky in being able to gather abundance of wild seeds.

3614. SE: 8-10 nights. At: 3-10 nights. 1st period, girl dances 3 nights; 2d period, girl dances 5 nights; 3d period, girl dances 6 nights; 4th period, girl dances 7-5 nights; 5th period, girl dances 5 nights; 6th period, girl dances 10 nights. Some girls dance for only 3 menstrual periods, not 6. AW: 3-12 nights. If only few singers come, dance lasts only 3-4 nights; if many singers come, dance 6-12 nights. AE: 3-4 nights. MM: Ca. 5 nights. NF: Dance lasts 1 day.

3615. SE, SW, AW: 1-2 subsequent menses. At: 2-5.

3618. Near dwellings. SW, SE hold dance outside; under tree if rainy weather.

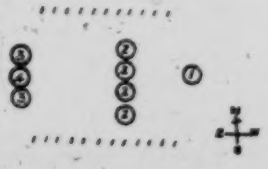
3622. In general, girl's father. MM: Girl's mother.

3623. Usually, girl's father's father. WS: "No one in charge."

3625. Mo: 1-2 men only, to sing.

3626a. See note 3635, AE, WS.

3628. AE: See figure.



,,,,,,,, men, women dancing; 1, fire; 2 singers; 3, dancers supporting menstruant; 4, menstruant.

[84] [535] 3629. Kl, Mo: Girls support menstruant. SW, SE: Men or women support menstruant. At, AW, AE: Boys or girls support menstruant. AE: Menstruant's betrothed and girl may support menstruant.

3631. MM: Girl dances 4 nights, rests 1 night, dances and has ears pierced on 6th (final) night.

3635. AE: Girl's betrothed dances with girl, for each of the 3 successive monthly periods of 5 days each that girl dances. During these periods his conduct parallels that of girl's; he eats no meat, grease, fish; he eats sparingly, runs alone each morning, takes bath by self, uses scratching stick, is employed on errands in daytime. He wears braided greasewood headband, capelike head covering, greasewood wristlets and anklets. On morning of final rite he washes himself, changes clothes. WS: Girl's be-

040 trothed not subject to any of above regulations, but dances with girl for 3 periods and is dressed well when on view with menstruant year after girl first menstruates. Morning following this large final puberty dance parents of girl and betrothed line up in row, singing; girl and youth dance, hand in hand, in front of line 1 hour; boy then takes girl to his father's house, all guests depart, couple considered married. This done only by virgins, chaste boys; marriage has been arranged previously by parents of principals; common form of marriage, "done often." Betrothal dance, daharilpurik. All other groups explicitly denied any such puberty marriage customs as described herein for AE, WS.

3637. SE: With back toward fire, however. AE: Singers between girl and fire (see fig., note 3628).

3641. SW: Between dances men and women sit in line or group, with menstruant in front of them; women, mainly, sing, although men may help. Sing special women's songs that are used only for this purpose; also sing songs of more exoteric nature. NM: Girl rests at intervals during night's dancing; also dances 4 nights, rests on fifth, on sixth has ears pierced, dances and runs in morning.

3652. Mo: Men sing for few hours, then go home; women stay and sing all night. NF, NM, MV: 2 female singers figure prominently in accounts of ceremony.

3653. AW: Men sing for girl, passing rattle as each sings in turn. Any woman takes rattle, sings, if she is good singer.

[533] [562] [88] 3654. Kl: "Have 1 singer they hire, a woman; they pay her. Then lots of people help her sing, men and women."

3659. At: Occasionally only, if mother thinks girl is tired. Mother also rubs ashes on girl's legs, if girl tired.

3661. SW: See note 3641.

[533] [562] [88] 3662. Kl, Mo: Men and women sing about each other (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69).

3665. Kl, Mo: Begin with an evening song, and end in morning at daylight with a morning song (see Spier, Klamath, p. 69). During night sing "love" songs (see note 3662). SW: See note 3641. Brush dance is 1 of dances given during puberty dance; men carry bows and arrows. At: In winter sing of snow melting; other songs in regular (?) order.

[522] [533] [88] 3666. Kl: Singers and others, joke with menstruant as she dances. MF, NF: Joking by clown.

3668. At: Use 2 deer-hoof rattles during night dance; 1 for singers, 1 to keep passing to persons who are sleepy. At end of night dancing, menstruant given rattle and told to go and run; she rattles and sings throughout day by herself. NM: Deer-hoof rattle, kɔsiltil.

3669. At: See note 3668. WM: Deer-hoofs used for this rattle have been saved, hung up in top part of house in smoke, for several years (cf. note 3547).

[221-B]

000 charge chooses partners (mock "wives") for male dancers; "they all joke and have fun. This is the windup."

3709. SE: Menstruant herself removes visor.

3712. WM: At final "big time" dance, girl wears braided-grass fringed "visor," clean clothes, bead necklaces, basket cap. "She's white [from staying in hut]; looks pretty." WS: Same as WM, except no grass visor.

3714. WM: If poor girl (for whom no final dance has been given) has good clothes to wear, she may stand with wealthy girl, "so everyone can look at them and admire them."

3716. At: When menstruant is bathed, and attended to, "then they all eat together, in 1 place. Everybody brings food." MF: Informant denied visitors are feasted. But MV informant reported that at Enterprise, among another MF group, on final morning of rite menstruant and girl attendant made to run and jump over wide bed (of burning pine needles? See note 3721). It is important that girl should clear the bed. Then 3 women bring acorn flour for soup; the 2 old women singers clown over the flour, saying "They never give us anything to eat," and other remarks. Clowns grunt and rub the flour over their faces before giving it back to be cooked. The 3 women then make a big batch of acorn bread from the flour and give the dough to everyone present.

[881-526] 3720. Kl: In open, where race ends. Mo: In sweat-house fire.

3721. SW: Pass girl through fire if she has dreamt bad dreams, so that the evil effects of such will be burnt off. Sometimes put a little shell money on her, before they pass her through fire, but no great display of wealth. (Dixon, Shasta, p. 456, says girl burnt alive.) MF: Girl passes through ring of lighted pine needles during puberty ceremonies. See Dixon (Maidu, p. 233) and Loeb (Eastern Kuksu, p. 150). MF: Loeb (ibid., p. 183) says Yuba River Maidu (- MF) made girl run through circle burning pine needles, but his Yuba River Maidu informants probably belonged to MF group. See section on informants, MF entry, this study.

Boys' puberty observances.--

3723. For details see elements 5207-5217.

3724. For details see elements 4722-4792.

General menstrual customs.--

3735. Baskets which have no grease on them.

3739. WM, WS: 4-5 days and nights. MM, MV: 3-4.

[841] 3740. Kl. Cp. Spier, Klamath, pp. 55, 70-71. My male informant stated definitely all women of Klamath Marsh group used menstrual hut.

3757. WM, WS: But cannot bathe in main rivers, such as McCloud or upper Sacramento rivers. MV: In summer only.

3764. Menstruating woman may give husband good luck in gambling, hunting, and the like.

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season however is now late, and frosts warn that winter is near. By mid-October, they have begun the homeward journey to their settlements, there to rebuild the earth lodges, gather firewood, and prepare for the long siege of winter.

Throughout the cycles of the seasons, the tribesmen live under a sense of dependent involvement in a universe that was created in the mythic age by supernatural beings who, establishing the present order, also chose their present form within it. Among the creatures of this world, man is less the exploiter than a fellow being, a relationship honored by returning to the water the gall of a fish that had been caught in order that the fish be requickened, as well as in the annual ceremonies of the first sucker and the ripened wokas. Each individual may draw close to the sources of power; and among the Klamath neither age nor sex is a barrier. The young boy at puberty may be sent on vigil to sacred place—in mountains and at certain rivers or lakes—there to fast, pile stones, run, and swim. In time, he may faint, awaken with blood gushing from his mouth, and hear the song that is his power. A girl during the time of her puberty dance goes off to sleep apart during the day; then she too may hear a song. Those mourning a deceased mate or child may "travel," seeking solace and power, for the spirit confers power through pity. Those who seek help desire a specific power, and they may pray for prowess in hunting, gambling, in attracting a mate, or in acquiring wealth. One who already has a spirit associate may seek for others; and some, either through inheritance or by the successive acquisition of tutelaries, may go on to become shamans. Some persons may reject the call. One middle-aged woman recounts a waking dream she had in her girlhood of a stag in full antlers rising out of the waters. Had she followed the opening thus offered she might have acquired great power; but she was afraid and let the chance slip by.

Among the Modoc, says Ray, powers come only to those who seek to become shamans. The call, which comes in a dream, is legitimate only in mature men and women past menopause and may not be experienced in old age. The seeker, like his Klamath counterpart, undertakes a five-day quest; but the chief of the spirit abodes in which he spends his vigil are the house pits of deceased shamans. Those spirits that come to him choose him

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as their human instrument; by contrast in the Klamath phrasing they are the shaman's "helpers."

However differently they construe the degree of individual access to the sources of power, both peoples recognize that human accomplishments are contingent upon it. Thus even those who have not secured a song appeal to the powers by prayer in the sweathouse. Because success is seen as a reward for virtuous striving and likewise as a token of supernatural aid, the universe appears basically to be a moral order.

In human society, success has its outward manifestations. The annual round of the food quest, the unremitting demands of the progression of plant and animal harvests, set a premium upon industry. "Work hard, so that people will respect you," is a theme that runs through the counsels of the elders and the periodic exhortations of headmen. The leading men are exemplars of this virtue, and the wealth they have thus amassed permits them to maintain several wives, while their generosity attracts a following. Aboriginally, the difference between these men and the common tribesmen is less than it will presently become, yet a contrast is already apparent. Only the daughters of prominent men undergo the most elaborate form of the puberty dance. In war, a leader is chosen in part because of the lavishness of his panoply. After death, when the body is cremated, that of a man of property is likely to be decked with many valuables contributed by those wishing to honor his memory. In myth, the man of prowess is depicted as possessing shamanlike foreknowledge. These heroes do not bustle about their affairs but send out emissaries on their business. Theirs is the restraint of power in reserve, for when the time is ripe they move inexorably to the destruction of their foe. That quality is well delineated in the deed recounted of the historic Klamath chief, Chiloquin:

> Old chief Chiloquin was quite a man, short but very strong. He was a *chief!* One time people were fighting; they were fighting all the time. *He* didn't care; he just slept there in his tent. Then about evening, he woke up. He says to his wife, "Bring me some water to wash my face." And when he had washed his face, he says, "Bring me some food and something—some coffee —to drink." And when he had eaten and drunk, he said, "Bring me my horse." And he took his weapons and got on his horse, and *all alone* he beat them. He was a wonderful man!

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the surrounding white neighborhood, the men came to take up roles narrowly and specifically defined in American terms and to rephrase them in terms of their closest native counterparts.[17] Thus, in the political field, judges and Indian police enlarged the formal duties of office with some of the powers traditionally exerted by chiefs. Assimilation of roles, however, progressed in both directions; and in the end even relationships within Indian society upon the reservation were modified toward the American system. This was only partially the consequence of conscious imitation on the part of the Indians or of change directly instituted by the whites. In some measure, it came as the undesigned byplay of a modification made for another purpose.

This, for example, was one of the effects of the educational system and its particular instrument, the boarding school. Because boarding school spanned the time of life upon which the Klamath vision quest and the girls' puberty rite fell, those native experiences were largely eliminated; and change of status was signaled instead by the final return from school. Education was designed for an altered future, but it increased intergenerational strife, as elders, their accumulated wisdom rendered obsolete in a changed setting, confronted youths skeptical in the superiority of their book-won knowledge. From the vantage of program, this was unfortunate—if inevitable—for the Agent depended for cooperation upon those same vexed adults.

To be sure, much of the change instituted might be regarded as supplementing and enlarging—rather than replacing—native content, for many a Klamath who was a schoolboy in those days today combines the learning of his elders with the lessons taught him in the schools. Participation in two orders juxtaposed for them made manifest the relativity of each one. For those youths, the new order was not to be taken on simple assertion; it had to demonstrate its superiority in a manner not required by those born into it.

With all the changes that tended to distort the social order, women were less directly affected than were their husbands and children. Their roles were still principally internal to the family, as wife and mother; and though opportunities for employment were beginning to open for them in the schools, their contacts with the ambient American culture were more fleeting and more

*539 tā'-inánnān nā'-innánnān, tā'-innánnān nā'-innánnān
533 tá naniánai nániana, tá naniánai nániāna
177 walwiléga palpiléga, walwiléga palpiléga 3
pálpilēga pálpilēga, pálpilēga etc.

DANCING TUNES.

A. *Tunes heard during Puberty-Dances.*

535 hō'-wina wē'na tchálam tchálam wéna
881 úha u-ai hai hai hévēlālt, 6
háhai u-ai hehai hévēlālt.
witcha kenná, witcha kéna kenō', witcha kenna kenó
nû kēno kēno kéno, n'ō kēno u'o kēno kénō 9

B. *Tunes adopted from Shasti Indians.*

*539
533 huí'no hō hotino hû-û huino hû'tnino kû'ino hō-o
177 wínna hádina háwina, há-ina ā-ā, háwina ná-ina
tóyo wínno hoyo wínna nó, weyawinna nó, heyowinná 12
ho owínno heyä'nlia kina ho-owínna heyä'nlia kena
he-ännowinná, innatá lowinna, he-eänno wínna
hewä' iwinnaná ō wí'nna óhō hänа wínna óhō 15
hännanáwiya ná-uya náyua hännaná-uya ō-uya
héwa enna hé-au wennéā hé-aunné heyawenné
ha wennō hahiyó wennó wennó ha wenna, awenó hewō 18
hó ninu henú henó inû' ho-inú hóninō-u henû'

C. *Dance and war tunes adopted from Snake Indians.*

háwinna haú-inna nō', t'nna hawínna háwinna nō'
hé-a wennē, a héa, heahē, héa wennō 21
haweā' wennā, hau-á, hawenná ē'nna, hawá

D. *Dancing tune heard from Warm Spring Indians.*

kanî luya . . . . . uya tasî wene nāsi

8:Spencer E-5 (1948-1949) 1952 NR10 Klamath NR10

latively, or rationally, between past and present. There is good evidence that the need for the power quest has not entirely disappeared, while on the mythological side, notions concerning the culture hero Kemu'kemps often recur.

The aboriginal power quest was highly formalized. Every Klamath, apparently regardless of sex, sought power frequently. While puberty was usually a starting point for these contacts with the supernatural, the power obtained could be lost and might be sought again. A series of related concepts existed: a sense of humility, fasting, a lonesome vigil, purification by sweating, and other elements encountered among many Indian tribes. The Klamath emphasized the inspirational song as evidence of the contact, and the word /ɬuw'i·s/ meant spirit song, spirit power, or the spirit itself, depending on context.[14] With the breakdown of the older culture, missionary activity from without and the consequent imposition of new values, the formalized behavior associated with the power quest fell away. But because it was highly individualized and unquestionably was an integrative factor in personality, it was not wholly abandoned. Probably the nativistic movements, the Shakers, the Pentecostalists, or the other emotional outlets permitted substitutions. One cannot gauge how widely persistent is a sense of individual rapport with the unseen world; certainly it is not discussed at the present time. The examples cited here are essentially unintentional expressions of older informants. Undoubtedly, these statements are an index to the emotions associated with the institutionalized aboriginal quest.

A paralytic woman, bedridden, aged about eighty, remarked as follows to me, "Every day I pray to the mountain. I lie here in my bed and I am sick and old and every morning I say to those mountains, I say, 'Bless me, help me.' I pray just like my mother taught me to do. I ask the river to help me. I say, 'River, help me; give me strength.' And I look over to that rock over there and I get help. My mother taught me to pray to rocks and mountains and to give some food to them before we eat. It's just like in the Bible. I dream of those mountains at night. They kind of help you when you ask it." She also recounts a visit to Crater Lake: "When I was young, I went up to Crater Lake with a woman I knew. She tied my eyes and led my horse, up, up. Then she said, 'Untie your eyes,' and I nearly fell off the horse. I saw a man standing on the water far away, just like in the Bible. He scared me so. I don't know who that was, but I like to think of that man now." The informant refers here to the common Klamath myth of water beings, visions of whom were apparently a significant part of the spirit quest.

Another older male informant gives a similar view of natural phenomena: "When I was young, I used to hear my grandfather and father talking. They said to me, 'You rustle around and get power; you pray to the rocks.' I never did, but once I was sick and I tried it. 'Help me, I am sick,' I said. Oh, it was good; they kind of made me feel good, them mountains did. Now I'm a real Christian [a converted Shaker] and I pray to God and Christ. Those things help you, but maybe it's the Devil that's working against God."

[14] Spier, 1930, pp. 94-100.